

Questions Suggested May
1st June
2 Conf at HQ

SUGGESTED LINES OF QUESTIONS ON
VIETNAM

1. What exactly is the problem? i.e., what precisely is a "War of National Liberation"? and by what stages do the Communists proceed? What is its applicability to under-developed countries in Latin America and Africa?
2. In a "War of National Liberation" what are the functions of:
 - a. The Communist Party organization?
 - b. The National Liberation Front?
 - c. The guerillas?
 - d. The Communist main force units?
3. Countering the "War of National Liberation" in Vietnam:
 - a. Pacification
 - What is the size of the job? (How many villages? How many people?)
What proportion of area of the country?)
 - Must the Vietnamese do the job themselves, or can the Americans help effectively (as in Combined Action Teams set up in 1 Corps area)?
 - What is the South Vietnamese capability to mount a pacification effort?
How many Revolutionary Development teams are now operating? How many do they plan to train?
 - How does a Revolutionary Development Team break Communist control of a village? How do you determine that the Communist infrastructure has been destroyed?
 - How does a Revolutionary Development Team win "the minds and hearts"

b. The South Vietnamese Government

Much progress has been made in creating representative government:

Constitution, election of legislature, election of President.

- To what extent has this political progress enlisted Vietnamese nationalism in support of the South Vietnamese government?
- What is being done about problem of corrupt officials? What is being done to train competent civil servants?
- What about the nearly two million refugees? Are they being so treated as to "win their hearts and minds?" What constructive use is being made of them?
- Is land reform essential to winning peasant support of the South Vietnamese government? If so, what is being done? What is planned?

c. South Vietnam's Armed Forces

General Westmoreland reports improvements in the effectiveness of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), and of plans to further improve its effectiveness and that of the Regional Forces and Popular Forces.

- What is the role of the ARVN? What is the role of the Regional Forces and Popular Forces?
- For a balanced effort in countering the "War of National Liberation," what priority should be given to the manning of the ARVN, the Regional and Popular Forces, the Revolutionary Development Teams, and the administrative structure of government? What elements have had top priority?

d. The "Main Force" Aspect of the War

Considerable progress has been made in the past three years against Communist main force units. In 1968, General Westmoreland forecasts continued pressure on Communist main force units to "attrit" enemy manpower, and continued pressure on the North through bombing to prevent rebuilding and make infiltration more costly.

- Critics ask: Has the effect of the bombing in North Vietnam been what it was in Germany in World War II - i.e., has it strengthened popular support for the Hanoi government? Has it made the North Vietnamese people more willing to make the sacrifice needed for continued prosecution of the war?
- Have we fixed so much of our attention on the "main force" aspect of the war that we have given insufficient priority to the others?

4. The Vietnam War and the Communist World, the United States and its Allies.

- What is the attitude, respectively of China and Russia toward "Wars of National Liberation"?
- What specifically is their attitude toward Vietnam? Does the rivalry for world leadership within the Communist bloc largely account for Russian support of North Vietnam?
- Does the significance of "Wars of National Liberation" make the Vietnam conflict important enough to American national interests to justify our commitment? If so, how can the situation be better explained to the American people?
- What role of our European allies to support and

participate in our effort in Vietnam? Remoteness? Popular lack of understanding of the nature and significance of "Wars of National Liberation," so support not politically feasible? Communist effort to confuse and divide public opinion in the free world by harping of such themes as national self determination, no interference in a "civil war", etc? Sympathy with the "underdog"?

- Given the human and monetary cost of the war, and the division of public opinion in the US and the countries of the free world on the issue of Vietnam, a negotiated settlement is attractive. But is it possible? Who would negotiate what with whom?
- If operations in South Vietnam against the Communist infrastructure and guerillas proceed successfully, can the fighting be stopped by a Korean-type negotiation?
- What is the attitude of the Asian countries of the free world toward the Vietnam war?

MEMORANDUM FOR: SODA

Discussed w/
Adm Taylor 1/27

I'd like your views
on the propriety of
our advertising to
answer the type of
question raised in the
attachment. I think
the form is inappropriate.

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Remarks:

Mr. Carver discussed with Adm. Taylor on Saturday, 27 Jan 68. He agreed completely with Adm. Taylor and Adm. Taylor told him he had already taken action on this question.

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V. H. Chon
cc: Dissemination